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Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 51 December 22, 1961 Section I — News

KATANGA: *Tower blasts UN action* .....(859)

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Katanga: No international event has so aroused Capitol Hill as has the UN aggression against Tshombe's autonomous government in the Congo. Adlai Stevenson's continuance as UN Ambassador, US membership in the UN, repercussions of the Congo fighting on the Democratic Party, etc., are topics of intense discussion. Senator John Tower (R.-Tex.) last week made the following statement to HUMAN EVENTS on this situation:

"The United Nations, an organization ostensibly dedicated to peace, is conducting unprovoked warfare in the Congo. The fight between the Katanga and the Leopoldville governments is the internal affair of a UN member nation. This civil strife poses no threat to any outside nation or to world peace. The Katanga government has the overwhelming support of a majority of its citizens, as evidenced by their support of its defensive effort.

"Therefore, military intervention by the UN is unjustified, illegal and immoral.

"The United States government's support of this military venture is an incredible act in view of the free capitalistic and orderly government of Katanga —the kind of government generally thought to be the ideal of Western civilizations. Instead of supporting this UN military action, the US government should be opposing it with all the influence at our disposal.

"In view of the reaction of the American public against this astounding situation, it appears that one more nail has been driven into the coffin of the UN insofar as United States membership is concerned." (See also "The Patriotic Corps" on page 862 in this section and "Tragedy in the Congo" in section VII.) Senators Morton (R.-Ky.) and Thurmond (D.-S.C.) and the GOP National Chairman, Representative Miller (R.-N.Y.), made similar critical comments.

Capitol Hill experts advise: the quickest and most effective way of putting pressure on the Administration is to write, wire or phone your Senators and Congressmen to speak up like Tower, Morton, Thurmond and Miller.

Kennedy's intervention into the Congo conflict, say insiders, came partly because the Pentagon estimated that perhaps the UN forces may be weaker than publicly billed and the Tshombe forces tougher. The White House wants an image of a UN supreme in Africa. Additionally, the protests of members of Congress (as related above) against the US-UN policy toward Katanga scared Democratic politicos.

Rockefeller: The New York *Daily News* last week reported that "insiders" are certain Governor Nelson Rockefeller will not be a candidate for re-election next year and may even resign before completing his present term. Reportedly Rocky feels his divorce troubles have scotched his Presidential chances and he wants out of the whole business.

Press circles say the *News* wouldn't have played up the story unless it considered its sources highly reliable. Rockefeller launched a vehement denial, but the *News* insists that its story will be confirmed by events. Of considerable interest is a report from in-the-know social sources that Mrs. Rockefeller is willing to have a reconciliation.

How JFK Conducts Diplomacy—the Untold Story: HUMAN EVENTS correspondents in Bonn and Paris report vivid details about the parleys of the past month concerning Berlin, which show Macmillan and Kennedy still intent on appeasement ventures, only relenting when they collide with the immovable de Gaulle. They report as follows:

German diplomats who attended the Adenauer-Kennedy talks in Washington recently describe JFK as "crushed under a weight of responsibilities, showing no constructive imagination of his own, apparently following the lead of aides Walt W. Rostow and McGeorge Bundy."

These sources present the following scene in the Washington parleys: Kennedy assured Adenauer and his aides that the US would not let West Ger-

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many down and would fight to the bitter end for allied rights in Berlin as well as for the lines of communication between West Berlin and the West.

Then Rostow cut in: "You understand, Mr. Chancellor, that in all negotiations there must be give and take. So to induce the Russians to guarantee our essential demands we must give them something in exchange—as a face-saver. We think we should make Berlin a world center of education and culture and put the UNESCO headquarters there. Bonn therefore would have to make a trivial concession: it would have to sever present political ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany, including the six seats held by Berliners in the Bundestag in Bonn. After all, they have no voting rights in the Bundestag."

At this, Chancellor Adenauer and his aides gasped. *Der Alte* then reminded Kennedy that the rights of West Berlin as a political entity in the Federal Republic of Germany were provided in the Constitution which was approved by the allies before it was passed by the German legislature. Hence this suggestion by Rostow would necessitate a change in the Constitution which, in view of the present mood of the German people, would be disastrous to any German government. In fact, Adenauer added, no party in the Republic would dare suggest such a change, unless the Federal Republic became a dictatorship.

Kennedy looked at Rostow, who nodded to him, and the US President replied to the Chancellor that this change suggested by Rostow must be made if "we want to get anywhere and to avoid a holocaust."

Back in Bonn, these German diplomats believe that JFK plans to have a conference at the foreign ministers level with the Russians (with or without de Gaulle) to deal only with Berlin. Then the British and Americans will make great claims (illusory) that Khrushchev has made "concessions" —in short, a well-advertised "victory" (like those claimed after Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam). Kennedy will be pictured as the man who saved the world from bloodshed, and the Democratic Party will run on that in the November, 1962, elections. If he succeeds and has a pliant Congress, then and then only will he return to a big summit with the Russians.

And de Gaulle? Our Paris correspondents report (and this is confirmed in Bonn) that Adenauer sent word to the French President asking him to let the French Foreign Minister go to the conference, since Germany needed "one friend" to speak for Bonn. De Gaulle, after pondering this, sent back word that it would be "foolish" to attend the meeting. "Let the Anglo-Saxons bear the onus," he said. But Paris reports that talk among German diplomats, now in despair, has again revived the possibility of a unilateral deal between Bonn and Moscow. (See "Back to Bismarck" in the December 1 HUMAN EVENTS News section.)

Anti-Business JFK: Two recent speeches read together prove something. President Kennedy's successive appearances before conventions of the National Association of Manufacturers and the AFL-CIO have confirmed charges by critics who have been labeling him anti-business. He prefers his union-labor political allies.

Before the NAM in New York, Kennedy called on businessmen to combat rising prices, and promised them he would "stress" to the union leaders that "labor, too, has its responsibilities for price stability." But the very next day in Miami Beach, Kennedy failed to be nearly as specific as he had promised with his union audience.

It was merely a light tap on the wrist when he told the assembled labor hierarchy he hoped that "those of you who are in the area of wage negotiation will recognize the desirability of us maintaining as stable prices as possible."

Like an agile football end, Labor Secretary Goldberg caught the forward pass from his quarterback and proceeded from there. He even softened whatever impact there was from the cautious words of his boss. The result was that the AFL-CIO leaders paid practically no attention to the Presidential adjuration, since Walter Reuther and others declared the unions will continue merrily on their wage-boosting ways.

Before the NAM, Kennedy showed his lack of sympathy with the business leaders by rejecting their program for a thorough overhaul of the federal tax structure—an overhaul which they say is essential for national economic growth. Instead he favored a much more limited attack, principally an eight per cent "investment credit," which the NAM insists is sadly inadequate.

These later events attest to the wisdom of a recent comment to HUMAN EVENTS by General Robert E. Wood, who said that Mr. Kennedy "is still in the hands of those of his advisers who are ADA and anti-business."

Hickenlooper: Capitol Hill anticipates that the key Senate Republican Policy Committee will choose a conservative as chairman, to fill the place left vacant by the death of Senator Bridges. Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa is actively seeking the job, and powerful support is gathering behind him—for instance, Senator Dirksen, Republican leader in the Senate. Hickenlooper has a very high rating on the conservative ACA voting Index, much higher than that of Senator Saltonstall, his expected opponent for the Policy chairmanship.

The Iowan has assets highly persuasive to most Republican Senators. He has seniority over Saltonstall. His committee assignments indicate the wide range of his legislative interests: ranking member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy; high on the Agriculture Committee; next to Wiley of Wisconsin (ranking member) on the Foreign Relations Committee. On the latter, he has specialized on Latin-American affairs—a burning topic today.

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Hickenlooper served Iowa first as Lieutenant Governor, then Governor for one term. He is the only Iowan who has been elected three times to the US Senate.

Observers believe that he will have ample votes to win when the showdown comes. If there is an active contest, friends predict he will better the record of Dirksen, when the latter won the Majority Leadership in 1959 by 20 votes to 14. A number of those who opposed Dirksen in that heated contest are expected to line up behind Hickenlooper, such as: Wiley of Wisconsin, Young of North Dakota and Morton of Kentucky.

Welfare: Rival philosophies clashed in the field of public welfare again last week regarding Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Abraham Ribicoff's plan to institute relief reforms. City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell of Newburgh, New York, said HEW's plan would result in "bigger government and less home rule."

Ribicoff stated he wanted to reduce welfare costs by getting chiselers and loafers off the welfare rolls. But he has asked for an additional sum of $17.1 million immediately to implement his program, and is expected to ask Congress for a still greater boost of $37.5 million in January—all this over and above the highest previous expenditures.

Mitchell, author of Newburgh's liberal-scored program for putting able-bodied welfare clients to work and cracking down on unwed mothers, told HUMAN EVENTS: "Secretary Ribicoff tells us that he wishes to reduce welfare costs, which is admirable. But I have been in government for 20 years and I have yet to see a situation where you wind up saving money by spending a great deal more. The $54 million Ribicoff wants will only enlarge the bureaucracy. As for cracking down on chiselers, the welfare staters are hardly equipped to do the job."

Walker: Former Major General Edwin A. Walker last week kicked off his new career as a civilian speaker by telling a Dallas audience of 5,600 that he quit the Army because he could no longer "be a collaborator with the release of US sovereignty to the UN."

Walker told the Texans that "Today our relation and subordination to the UN puts every man signing the oath under a double standard. We are sworn to defend America, but have to abide by UN decisions. Under these conditions, the oath becomes falsified and fictitious."

In Washington, the investigation into military muzzling by a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee—spurred by the Walker case—is taking shape and is slated to start about two weeks after Congress reconvenes January 10. Senator Strom Thurmond tells newsmen that the investigation will cover three main categories: censorship of military speeches, troop information and education programs, and anti-Communist seminars conducted by the military. Thurmond says that the subcommittee will be able to prove the allegation that military men have been unjustly muzzled.

The South Carolina Senator says that the subcommittee will present witnesses who will prove his case in all three categories. Witnesses will be called from both the State and Defense Departments, but the South Carolinian doesn't choose to say whether anyone from the White House will be called to the Hill.

Senator Thurmond made it clear that the role of phony or slanted newspaper and magazine stories branding military men as "extremists" will be aired during the investigation. He noted that last July Communist Party chief Gus Hall wrote a directive in the *Worker* attacking military men for their anti-Communist utterances. A few days later, Thurmond noted, certain leading newspapers in New York and Washington "grabbed up the Hall line like a fish after bait. I don't think that these are Communist papers, but they are doing this country a great disservice."

TV Crusade: The three-hour TV drama "Hollywood's Answer to Communism" was a smash hit when shown on December 11 over 12 TV stations in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

An estimated 1.5 million persons saw the film. As was the case on the Pacific Coast (see September 15 HUMAN EVENTS) and in New York, it outdrew all programs shown at the same time.

The Deering-Milliken Company, sponsor, received thousands of grateful letters, wires and phone calls. The company's president, Roger Milliken, says the show was the best investment in good will the company has ever made.

The 12 TV stations all report "the greatest viewer response they have ever had." An official of an Atlanta station which turned down the show, allowing a competitive station to get it, called the decision "a serious error of judgment—a failure to appreciate the deep interest of today's public in the Communist issue."

Who Are the Mercenaries?: In a TV interview last week Undersecretary of State George W. Ball, old friend and legal associate of Adlai Stevenson, parroted the UN and liberal press line that whites fighting for Katanga are "mercenaries."

But no less an authority than the liberal New York *Times* reported last week that most of the

CHARLES A. McMANUS, Executive Director, Americans for Constitutional Action: "HUMAN EVENTS provides the responsible citizens of our Republic with up-to-date, factual, behind-the-scenes news. HUMAN EVENTS' concise reporting and stimulating articles furnish conservatives that information necessary to counteract the propaganda machine of the liberals."

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mercenaries "are gone and there is little money to be gained in the Katangan army these days." It said that "these whites form the backbone of the strong resistance to the United Nations here. They are called mercenaries by the UN but they are different from the white mercenaries who were here earlier." The *Times* reported that most of the 200 whites fighting were settlers fighting for their land. The dispatch hinted that the UN has a special animosity toward them because they do the most courageous and effective fighting against UN forces and "keep the Africans from backing away from the fighting."

On the UN side, it is noted, the most effective troops are the tough Indian Ghurkas, who for over a hundred years have been a traditionally mercenary outfit.

Sandbagging an Ally: India's imperialistic venture against tiny Goa (settled by the Portuguese in 1510) is seen on Capitol Hill as a victory for the ADA-type extremist clique now controlling the cerebral environment in the State Department. This extremist element has consistently waged war against Portugal for the purpose of catering to anti-Western neutralists in India and Africa. Goa is just another place to turn the screw on our NATO ally.

The menacing pose assumed by Nehru against Goa—in remarkable contrast to his spineless position taken against Red China, which claims no fewer than 51,000 square miles of Indian territory —could not have occurred, it is felt, without State Department acquiescence or connivance. Under Eisenhower, it is recalled, Dulles refused to pander to Nehru's colonialism and firmly declared that Goa was part of Portugal, thus checkmating Nehru.

The Patriotic Corps: Members of the Yale chapter of Young Americans for Freedom—a national organization claiming 20,000 members—have offered to go to Katanga to fight against UN mercenaries seeking to bring the province under control of the heavily Red infiltrated central Congolese government.

The students, according to a State Department spokesman, will not be violating any law if they fight for Katanga, but will run the risk of loss of citizenship. They are willing to make the sacrifice, however, if it should become necessary.

A spokesman for the group, Yale junior Ross D. Mackenzie, vice-chairman of the Yale *Daily News*, told HUMAN EVENTS: "The students hope to dramatize to the American people that the UN and the Kennedy Administration are embarked upon a course that could be as tragically wrong as was the State Department support of Castro when he was seeking control of Cuba."

A Republican Congressman commented to HUMAN EVENTS: "This is the stuff our forefathers were made of. Why don't we dub them the 'Patriotic Corps'? It would serve a far better purpose than the spineless Peace Corps which is only getting the US into trouble."

Capitol Camera: German and French diplomats sized up Secretary of State Rusk, after recent parleys between Britain, France, the US and West Germany: "decent," but "weak" and "scared." These diplomats think that Rusk does not expect to remain as Secretary of State later than the 1962 elections.

• *Diplomatic Row in Washington expresses amazement that so much of American opinion, particularly in the press, gives Kennedy credit (in his handling of the Berlin situation) for the present lull, or* detente, *in Europe, with Khrushchev calming down. Veteran diplomats insist it's de Gaulle's stubborn stand that has prevented more appeasement and stymied Khrushchev. To the French President, and him alone, these diplomats assign credit for the* detente.

• Robert A. Taft, Jr., will seek election as a Congressman-at-Large in Ohio next year. The son of "Mr. Republican" is considered highly intelligent and personable and even more solidly conservative than his father. He is expected to win handily, and will run for the Senate seat now held by liberal Democrat Stephen Young in 1964.

• *The Soviet propaganda smear of German General Heusinger, top NATO executive, is aimed at damaging that Western military "shield" against the Red hordes in Europe. But there's more to it. Moscow hates Heusinger personally because he was in the Reichswehr command during the* 1941-44 *German invasion of Russia. Like other Reichswehr officers, Heusinger favored encouragement of the Vlassov "Red defector" army. Red General Vlassov, his staff and many army units defected to the Germans in* 1942—*eventually numbering an estimated half-million men. Heusinger liked these Russians; Hitler and racist Nazis hated them and sabotaged a growing movement. Moscow fears Heusinger may have the know-how to promote another big defection if war comes.*

• Veteran Baltimore *Sun* correspondent for the United Nations, Paul Ward, said last week that "Communists in Thant's confidence" are shaping the Acting Secretary General's policies in the Congo. This state of affairs was foreshadowed by HUMAN EVENTS on November 17. (U Thant was recently picked, with Soviet support, to replace the late Dag Hammarskjold as head of the UN Secretariat.)

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Major Mayer to Speak at HUMAN EVENTS' Third Political Action Conference

THE THIRD HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference will hear an address by Major William E. Mayer, U.S.A. This 38-year-old psychiatrist has been termed by Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) "The most knowledgeable American in the field of brainwashing."

In 1953, Army intelligence rushed Major Mayer to Korea to study returning American prisoners who had co-operated with the enemy. He spent months with these men, probing their minds as to why they succumbed to Red brainwashing. Major Mayer reached a conclusion which has since become his central concern—that too many Americans, in and out of uniform, have lost the mental and physical toughness necessary to meet the Communist challenge.

A dynamic speaker who has been addressing groups on communism for the past two years, Major Mayer has been described by Scripps-Howard reporter Jim Lucas as a man who can make an audience "laugh or cry at will." The intensely sincere, articulate and reasoned manner in which Major Mayer approaches his subject has won him admirers wherever he has spoken.

Hitting on one of the hottest subjects of current political debate, Major Mayer states: "Our fighting men need more indoctrination than they get. We cannot continue to rely on the goodness of our youngsters and their naive faith in our way of life when they may have to face an enemy of tough, indoctrinated fighting men."

"The most knowledgeable American in the field of brainwashing"

MAJOR MAYER

As further indication of Major Mayer's Conference theme, he has said: "It is awfully hard to convince people that there is much of a fifth column. It's hard to realize that the Communists are more serious than Hitler was when he wrote that book and said that he was going to do exactly what he went ahead and did. And so it is time that we slipped out of this lethargy a little and tried to understand communism, its mechanics and its intentions, in a much more specific way."

The Case of Major Mayer

By FULTON LEWIS, JR.

MAJOR WILLIAM E. MAYER, a brilliant neuropsychiatrist, was a member of the task force responsible for the rehabilitation of American GI's brainwashed in Korea by the Chinese Reds.

He could be a central figure in the upcoming investigation of "military muzzling" by a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. By a 15-to-1 vote, the Committee agreed to probe charges that anti-Communist military men were under tight leash by Pentagon civilians.

The special subcommittee will be chaired by Mississippi's Senator John Stennis.

Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) tells this reporter that he will insist upon a thorough look at the Mayer case. Some time ago, the Army doctor made an address before the Freedoms Foundation on the subject of Communist brainwashing. Rebroadcast by Radio Station WKRC in Cincinnati, it was described by a local newspaper as a "scholarly, thoroughly responsible account of the brainwashing of American prisoners in the Korean War by their Chinese Communist captors."

Mayer discussed the techniques utilized by the Reds that turned one-third of our Korean War prisoners into collaborators and one-tenth into informers on their fellow prisoners.

Many Cincinnati residents looked forward to hearing Mayer again. He accepted invitations to speak this fall at two local colleges—Xavier University and Our Lady of Cincinnati College.

Some time later, however, Major Mayer notified the colleges that he could not speak this fall. This was interpreted as another case of Pentagon censorship and local reaction was sharp. Declared the Cincinnati *Enquirer:*

"Anyone who heard or saw Major Mayer knows that he is no wild-eyed fanatic, no crank, no crackpot. He is instead a solemn, thoroughly-informed, articulate young physician whose splendid talents led to his appointment as chief neuropsychiatrist in the Army task force . . . "

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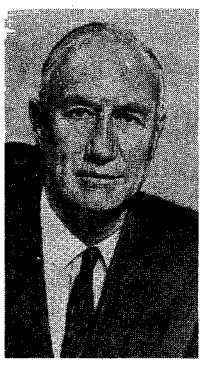
Make Your Reservations Now For Third HUMAN EVENTS Conference



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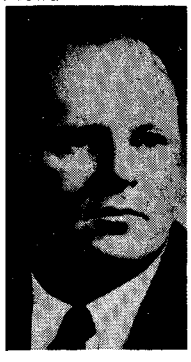

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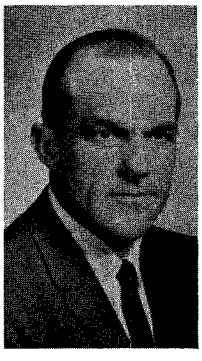

Jack Cox,
Republican
Candidate for
Governor of Texas

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The theme of this Conference will be "What Y Can Do To Help Conservatives Win In 1962 Leading members of Congress, prominent Politic Strategists, and other authorities will bring you t who, what, how and when of effective politic action.

You should attend and you should bring wi you a delegation from your area. Your group w become the nucleus of the fighting force necessa to win in 1962.

Please make reservations at the Third HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference, January 5, and 6, 1962, for the following people:

The Conference fee of $75 includes Continental breakfast, lunch and dinner on both days. The fee for additional members of the same immediate family (wives, sons and daughters) and for students, teachers, clergymen and members of the YAF and ISI is $45.

Special room rates, $10 for single and $15 for double, have been arranged at the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

All fees will be returned in full if you cannot attend, whatever the reason.

Space is limited, and all registrations must be reserved, so fill out the coupon below now to insure your reservation.

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me after January 20 in the amount of $..... to cover the Conference fee at $75 per person, and $45 for additional members of the same family.

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Practical Politics—V

Your Candidate

CONTROL of the state central committee or state party often goes unnoticed by one-shot, flash-in-the-pan political activists. Actually, with both money and appointive powers vested in the county and state organizations, their value can be boundless in any election.

Study the set-up in your county and find out about the structure of both parties in your state. Copies of the by-laws and constitution of the political parties can be obtained by writing the secretary of state in your state capital.

Upon receiving this information you will find, in most states, that every four years a precinct caucus elects delegates to a county convention. The county convention elects delegates to a state convention. The state convention elects delegates to the national convention which nominates Presidential candidates. The national convention also confirms national committeemen and committeewomen (one each per state).

A few states work from the top down with only one level of elective party offices doing the appointing for other levels. Find out about your state's attendance at special elections for party offices. See what percentage of people is needed to elect a party representative. Then take a look at the myriad of local offices which you and other conservatives can fill.

Remember, a local office is the best training ground for a prospective Congressional or Senatorial candidate and only you can help him (or her) achieve that office. By pushing for conservatives in all levels of government, your choice for the primary elections in future years will be easier. You'll find yourself with an orchard full of ripe prospects for nomination and subsequent election.

Officially, in most states, all a candidate need do to enter a primary is pay a nominal fee to the secretary of state in his state capital and file his intention to enter the primary. But here we get into splinter groups, independents, third-party forces and the vast conglomeration of so-called "nut groups."

In almost all cases, your candidate has a better chance to win the final election if he can win the Republican or Democratic nomination than if he runs outside the two major parties.

A candidate's qualifications should be suited for the office and the election district in which he is running. His personal background should be spotless. Naturally, it helps if he is married with two or three cute children. The more active and successful he has been in community affairs, the better his position. Voters are correctly interested in a candidate's qualifications vis-a-vis political experience and demonstrated ability.

In a larger sense, you can assist in improving *all* candidates for office simply by encouraging members of local civic groups, clubs and organizations to become more active in committees of both parties. Or, you might follow the lead of several local chapters of the Chamber of Commerce of the US by sponsoring "Know Your Candidates" luncheons or dinners. You may invite both Republican and Democratic candidates along with persons running on an independent slate. A question-and-answer period will not only provide information on the issues and personalities involved, but will go a long way in stimulating action and provoking thought.

Next week: Your Campaign.

Michael J. Bernstein's Taped Interview—$7

Michael J. Bernstein, Chief Minority Counsel for the Senate Commitee on Labor and Public Welfare, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Bernstein discusses the legislative prospects for the coming session of Congress in the areas of labor and education, and projects the probable shape of the opposition to the Administration's plans for Federal aid to education.

BERNSTEIN

This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the forty-first in the 1961 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEWS.

The price for single interviews is $7. If you enter an order for one interview a month the price is $6, one a week $5; $1 is refunded for each tape returned.

Other interviews which you may wish to have are listed below. They are the first forty weekly interviews in the 1961 series.

40. V. W. Thomson (R.-Wisc.)
39. A. I. Selden, Jr. (D.-Ala.)
38. Frank J. McNamara
37. William B. Widnall (R.-N.J.)
36. Laurence Curtis (R.-Mass.)
35. Elmer J. Hoffman (R.-Ill.)
34. John R. Pillion (R.-N.Y.)
33. Robert C. Wilson (R.-Calif.)
32. Carroll D. Kearns (R.-Pa.)
31. G. C. Cunningham (R.-Neb.)
30. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.)
29. James E. Bromwell (R.-Iowa)
28. John B. Anderson (R.-Ill.)
27. Ralph F. Beermann (R.-Neb.)
26. Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.)
25. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.)
24. Jamie L. Whitten (D.-Miss.)
23. Robert R. Barry (R.-N.Y.)
22. Charles Jonas (R.-N.C.)
21. Gordon H. Scherer (R.-Ohio)
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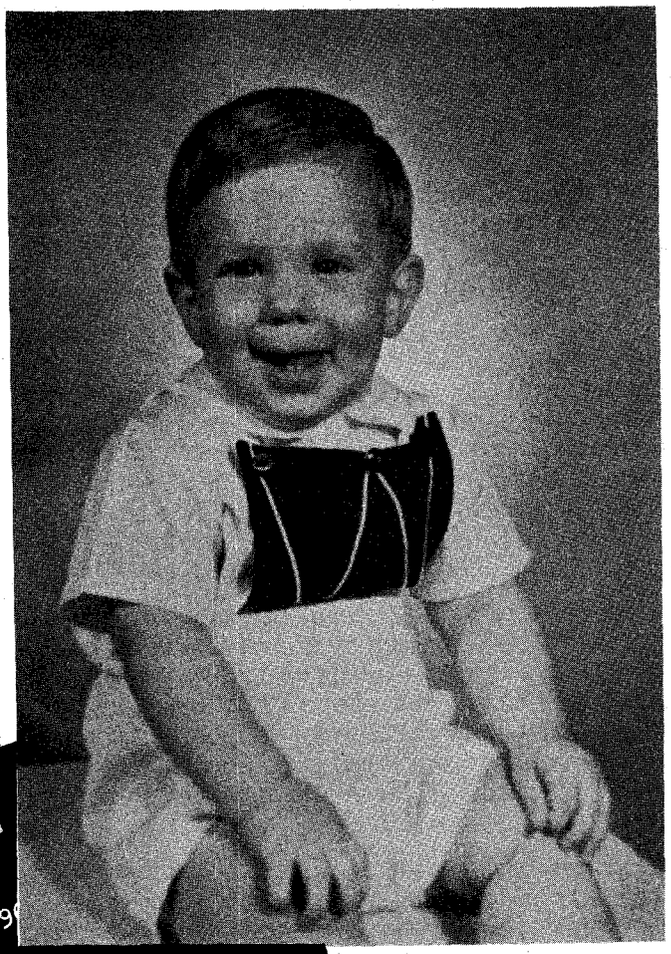

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Vol. XVIII, No. 51—Section III HUMAN EVENTS December 22, 1961

Dare We Leave Foreign Policy to Politicians?

By SKEPTICUS

OCEANS OF NONSENSE have been emitted in the controversy over the proper conduct of military men in respect to politics, but the subjoined piece of arrogant humbug deserves a high place:

> **"There is little in the education, training or experience of most military officers to equip them with the balance of judgment necessary to put their own ultimate solutions —those with which their education, training and experience are concerned—into proper perspective in the President's total 'strategy for the nuclear age.' "**

So saith, in clumsy liberal rhetoric, the Fulbright Memorandum which implies that military officers be commanded to confine their utterances to "Company, halt!"; "Squads right!" (make that "Squads Left!"); and related matters. The idea would appear to be that General Mark Clark, who has "negotiated" with Communists from Austria to Korea, lacks the "proper perspective," while certain members of Americans for Democratic Action, elevated to positions of power, are fully equipped to implement the President's "strategy for the nuclear age."

Many veterans of involuntary servitude in our armed services, along with others whose military experience consists of reading *The Caine Mutiny,* find it difficult to believe that the military brass is distinguished for "intellectual eminence or scholarship sublime," as the poet says; but the performance record is interesting.

Consider the Berlin situation, for example. Was it our imperfectly educated generals and admirals who agreed to isolate Berlin in the midst of the Soviet zone, 110 miles from Western supplies? Or was it the politicians (Harvard, Princeton, etc.) who bequeathed us that barrel of eels? There has been considerable dispute over the responsibility for this horror, but it seems clear that the culprits were not the unknowledgeable military, but the super-educated statesmen.

In *A Soldier's Story* (Holt), General Omar Bradley, by no means the most intellectual general since G. Julius Caesar, explained:

> **" . . . although I did not dispute the Great Illusion—for I was no less beguiled than others on the Soviet's postwar intentions—this isolation of Berlin offended me because it violated one of the primary tenets of logistics. . . . In the supply of Berlin we were totally dependent upon the good will of the Soviets. And dependence, I learned as a boy in Missouri, does not make for the very best neighbors."**

This simple truth seems not to have occurred to the political geniuses who arranged things for Germany after the war. On many matters, Omar—known in the service as "the Professor"—would be sympathetic to the Fulbright Memorandum. In his memoirs he comments acidly on the "British inclination to complicate war with political foresight and non-military objectives" —as if war was a sort of political touch-football game making no political sense at all! But sticking half a city way out in the midst of a potentially hostile zone was too much for him!

PERHAPS IT IS TRUE that American military men have been behind their British opposite numbers in relating military maneuvers to political objectives. Imperial experience taught Britain's soldiery the relationship between banging away at Egyptians and maintaining the vital passage to the Orient. But the best of our military men have "learned by doing." They didn't invent "unconditional surrender"; it made them shudder. And it was not the military who handed China to the Communists at Yalta; it was, as the then Representative John Fitzgerald Kennedy (D.-Mass.) put it, a "sick President" (F.D.R.) who perpetrated that outrage.

> **Nor should it occasion astonishment that men with years of experience in the armed services understand something of the world they live in and the problems of the peoples who inhabit it. Such men, unlike too many of their academic contemporaries, haven't grown up in a vacuum. Many of them, stationed abroad, have had educational experience in negotiation with representatives of other governments. Trained to observe with accuracy what goes on around them, military and naval officers have been among our most valuable informants on conditions in other lands.**

Actually their education is at least as well-rounded as that of the average engineer or nose-and-throat surgeon. The service schools may pass lightly over the construction of the Elizabethan sonnet or the relation of Rousseau to 19th Century Romanticism, but an officer who has been through the various advanced seminars and special schools which are required for advancement has a pretty solid picture of what the world and the people in it are like.

In the past, Army officers have been assigned to attend the sessions of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Whether this wise practice has survived the "liberal" drive to make culture "off limits" for soldiers I do not know.

In the *Infantry Journal* of some 25 years ago, the late Major John A. Burns had something to say about the American officer as an educated man. His observations are included in the *Infantry Journal Reader* (Doubleday, 1943). Major Burns said the military historian:

> **" . . . must contemplate entire peoples and civilizations as a prelude to an exhaustive analysis of the peoples and cultures of today. In this must be included a study of the trends of development, particularly in the field of thought. Nothing is more explosive than an idea, and to understand a people one must understand its ideology which essentially is far more important than its armament."**

In another article in the same publication Major Burns wrote:

> **"For the most part Army officers are graduates of some good college or university . . . they do much post-graduate work in the Army schools . . . . You will seldom find an officer on the War Department General Staff who has not had from three to six years, or even more, of post-graduate work to fit him for his job . . . . It is doubtful if any professional group is so rigorously trained and educated as the American officer."**

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Assuming that a top military commander is at least as intelligent and well-informed as the average functionary in the Department of State, we come to the question of his responsibility, as an officer and as a citizen. The Fulbright Memorandum bristles with references to the duty of the officer *never, never, never* to indicate doubt (apparently not even in the privacy of a university seminar) regarding the wisdom of the Administration's policies. Of course, few would insist that an Army, Navy or Air Force officer should take to the hustings to urge repeal of the income tax. But suppose . . .

Well, consider the problem which confronted high officers in the German Army previous to the outbreak of war in 1939. Many of them knew that Hitler's madness threatened to destroy their country. The late Leopold Amery, one of England's least appreciated statesmen, in his autobiography *My Political Life* (Hutchinson, London), wrote:

> **" . . . the German generals, convinced that nothing would stop Hitler starting a war which would be the destruction of Germany, had not only planned his arrest, but had arranged both the legal and psychiatrist evidence for his criminal irresponsibility."**

They sent emissaries to England urging support for this enterprise. There is no evidence that the British military rejected this plan, in the perfection of which German military men were willing to gamble their lives. Amery declares that it was rejected by Neville Chamberlain, a peace-loving politician!

On this failure the distinguished British historian A. L. Rowse, in his recent book *All-Souls and Appeasement*, (Macmillan) comments as follows:

> **"If a break had come inside Germany, as it could have been forced by resisting Hitler, it is true that the German Army, the generals and conservative forces would have come out on top. Such a Germany, retaining the decencies of civilization, though conservative and resting on the Army, would have been a strong counterpoise to Russia. It was letting Hitler get away with it, until nothing would stop him except war, that let the Russians into the center of Europe."**

But the German military leaders—some of whom died under torture for their effort to avert disaster—were undoubtedly acting contrary to the national policy as set by the civil authorities. Perhaps Senator Fulbright would not have condemned these men to have their eyes gouged out or be hanged on the wall by meat hooks; but he would have had to disapprove what they attempted to do—just as his memorandum censures General MacArthur for being right about Korea, and as Dean Acheson's State Department earlier sought to frustrate MacArthur's wise administration of occupied Japan. It was a military leader who led a defeated people back to peaceful co-operation with the West; it was a set of "liberal" schemers in Washington who recommended a gratuitous toughness and petty irritations which, at the very least, would have made it difficult to keep Japan on our side of the Iron Curtain.

On the first anniversary of Japan's surrender, MacArthur made the innocuous statement that the world was confronted by the "dread uncertainty arising from impinging ideologies which now stir mankind." According to Jonathan Stout, writing in the *New Leader* (September, 1946), this piece of routine reporting caused "the appeasement clique" in the State Department to hit the ceiling. MacArthur was charged with launching "an anti-Communist campaign in violation of his American policy directives from President Truman," and, worse, "without any consultation" with the State Department.

It is easy to imagine a military commander, more promotion-conscious (or perhaps merely regulation-minded) than MacArthur, who would have stuck to the spiritless spirit of the State Department's directive, permitted the Communists to move in and salved his conscience by referring to civilian responsibility in matters of foreign policy. MacArthur obeyed his orders to the letter, but when he saw disaster ahead, he was too much of a patriot to ignore it. If the "appeasement clique" wanted to hand Asia to the Reds, it had to be done over his protest.

We know what happened to MacArthur. The Fulbright Memorandum suggested that his conduct in Korea had some undefined connection with "McCarthyism." But doesn't a country owe something to a soldier who tells the truth? Doesn't it owe at least a bit of tolerance for a soldier who thinks he sees his country's defenses threatened by a disastrous deal on Berlin or Laos?

Major General Edwin A. Walker in his valedictory said: "Many Communist aggressions now passing into history as *fait accompli* could never have been perpetrated had we and our allies been alert and informed." For attempting to alert and inform the men in his command, General Walker has been subjected to official persecution and journalistic hazing. One might think he had reintroduced flogging or abolished the PX!

THE CONCEPT of statesmen, lately sprung from the *Groves of Academe,* sitting in their swivel, or rocking, chairs, thinking deeply, while military men impatiently await the command to give 'em the cold steel, is pretty much old hat. Things are too complicated for such elementary notions, because military and civilian problems are interwoven in a bewildering complex.

General John Russell Deane, on war-time duty in Moscow, saw through the Soviets long before his bosses in Washington did—because he had a job to do in the face of endless bureaucratic and ideological interferences. Military Attache in Russia from 1943 to 1945, he described his experiences more fully in his book, *Strange Alliance* (Viking Press, New York). Washington politicians could sit back and think great thoughts about global unity, occasionally sending a Haw-Haw emissary to punish the vodka with Stalin. To which do we owe the prophetic picture of Soviet intentions?

History is filled with prescient generals—Ulysses S. Grant's generosity to a defeated foe in contrast to politician Thaddeus Stevens' bigoted vengeance; George Washington's grasp of the essentials of republican government. Going back a bit, the Duke of Wellington, in a letter to Lord Wellesley (March, 1815), commenting on hysterical rumors of Russian plots and invincibility after Napoleon's defeat, wrote: "What the Russians are looking to everywhere is general power and influence. But as they have neither wealth nor commerce, nor anything that is desirable except 400,000 men (about which they make more noise than they deserve) they can acquire these objects in a distant Court like Spain only by bustle and intrigue." (They are still in there, bustling and intriguing.)

It would be tragic if men with the cool common sense and broad experience of our military leaders should be confined to a narrow role, appropriate for the era of the hollow square and commissions awarded automatically to the gentry or bought for cash on the line, but surely not for the nuclear age. If it is disastrous to leave war to the generals, it has already proven worse than disastrous to leave foreign policy to the politicians.

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Vol. XVIII, No. 51—Section IV HUMAN EVENTS December 22, 1961

What Did Jesus Believe About Wealth?

The True Social Gospel Rejects Collectivism

By the Rev. IRVING E. HOWARD

SOMEONE HAS OBSERVED that no generation of Americans has thought more about freedom than ours, and none has shown a greater readiness to abandon it. This is especially true in the realm of economics. The crux of the problem of economic freedom is the nature of wealth and man's right to it.

In view of this, it is important to consider what Jesus thought about wealth. Since He was concerned with life and since economics is involved in the whole of life, we should expect to find economic implications in the teachings of Jesus. This expectation is not disappointed.

Consider Jesus' parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Matthew 20:1-6). Here is the story of an employer who hired a series of laborers at different hours of the day and at the end of the day paid them all alike. When those who had worked the longest complained because they had not been paid more than those who worked for an hour, the employer answered: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?"

Whatever theological meaning this parable may have, it clearly assumes that a man has a right to his property. This is not a surprising assumption for Jesus to have made, for it was a central idea in the Ten Commandments and was a part of the Judaism of Jesus' time. Much so-called social legislation is in conflict with the teachings of Jesus on the question of property, for this kind of legislation is founded upon the assumption that a man's property or wealth belongs to the community, and that the community has a right to determine how it should be used. Jesus had a different idea; namely, that ultimately all property belongs to God.

Jesus also had a more constructive thought about the nature of wealth than "share the wealth." "Tax the rich" legislation assumes that there is a fixed amount of wealth which must be more evenly distributed throughout the economy if we are to have a "just" social order. Our Marxian graduated income tax operates upon that principle.

The classical economists taught that there are four ways to get property or wealth. It may be created by the sweat of one's brow or the use of one's talents. It may be traded for, received as a gift or taken by force. In simpler days, when people were so naive as to believe the Ten Commandments, taking property by force was called "stealing." In more recent times, however, we have been led to think that what may be wrong for the individual is right for the Government. According to this philosophy, if, by majority rule, the Government takes property by force, the fact that the majority voted for it makes it not an act of theft, but an expression of "social consciousness."

NO ONE WHO is serious about the teachings of Jesus can ever be happy with this socialistic teaching. Not only did Jesus not believe in stealing, he did not believe that wealth was static. Study the parable of the ten pounds. Here Jesus told the story of a nobleman who gave his ten servants one pound each before he left for the far country. Upon his return, he called them to account. All but one had invested and increased his pound. This servant had hoarded his in fear that he might lose even that one pound. His lack of enterprise was condemned (Luke 19:11-28).

Thus, from Jesus' point of view, if one man has less wealth than another, he may get more, not by robbing the man who has more, but by creating some for himself. The only limitation upon the amount of wealth in existence is in man's ingenuity for creation. In this parable, the more the servants made on their investment, the more they were applauded, and there is no suggestion that there was anything immoral in their creation of wealth. Only sloth, fear and hoarding were condemned.

Jesus' attitude toward wealth was conditioned by an otherworldliness. He was not primarily interested in this present world, but in a world to come. Therefore, when a man came to Jesus saying: "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me," Jesus rebuked the man and refused to be an equalizer of wealth. He continued by warning the man against covetousness.

Jesus had not heard about the Social Gospel, so his response to this challenge did not reveal an "enlightened social consciousness." It is odd that the covetousness Jesus warned against so frequently has been turned into a virtue by the Social Gospel and Social Action movement in the

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modern church. Jesus followed his warning against covetousness with the parable of the rich fool who built ever larger barns only to die suddenly, unprepared for eternity (Luke 12:13-21).

To Jesus, wealth was a threat to the soul of the possessor, not a problem to be solved by social engineering. His focal point was always upon the individual rather than the group. While what he said to the individual had wide social consequences, he always started with the individual. So how to use wealth was a problem for the individual to solve with a sense of stewardship to God.

Consider the rich young ruler who asked Jesus what he should do to inherit eternal life. Jesus recited the Ten Commandments, to which the rich young ruler replied: "I have kept these from my youth up." To prove that he had not understood the full implication of them, particularly the first, Jesus replied: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, give to the poor . . . and follow me." Note that the point of emphasis in this incident was not upon the welfare of the poor, but upon the welfare the rich young ruler's soul. He had made a god of wealth (Matthew 19:16-26).

Jesus was for neither the poor nor the rich. He was for all men as individuals. Most of all, he was for their spiritual development and commanded charity as a means to that development. In Jesus' hands, the Old Testament doctrine of the sovereignty of God became a warm, personal faith in the providence of God. While expounding upon God's willingness to care for those who trust Him, Jesus enunciated one of the greatest truths of the New Testament: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matthew 6:33).

Man's accountability to God in the use of his wealth obligates him to practice charity, which was the point of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The rich man in this story was punished, not because he was wealthy, but because he did not have compassion upon the beggar at his gate. Nevertheless, there is no suggestion in this story that Lazarus had any claim upon the rich man's wealth (Luke 16:19-31). Emil Brunner has stated it well in *Justice and the Social Order*: "[Man] is obliged, not by justice, but by compassion, to give to those who are in need out of what is entirely his property, but those in need have no right to it . . ."

The best-known example of Jesus' insistence upon charity is the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37). A close examination of this story reveals that, while it was given in answer to the lawyer's question, "Who is my neighbor?" it answered an unasked question: "Who is it that acts neighborly?" In *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus*, Dr. Henry Joel Cadbury made the point that Jesus shifted the emphasis from the recipient to the doer of the deed. The spirit of compassion was more important to Jesus than the act of getting a wounded man taken care of on the Jericho road.

THESE DISTINCTIONS are vital. Too frequently we have made the mistake of thinking that Christian ethics is concerned only with the objective deed, the consequences, rather than with the subjective motivation.

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, Secretary of the World Council of Churches, has criticized our American tendency in this regard: "When the objective deed is valued in the social result rather than in its motivation, it becomes possible to interpret a number of manifestations of social life as Christian (because of their apparent social value) that in the conception of ethics which stakes everything upon the inner attitude would never deserve the name." "The greatest treason," said Thomas à Becket in Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, "is to do the right thing for the wrong reason." Much social welfare legislation provides us with examples of both wrong things and wrong reasons.

The teachings of Jesus are still relevant and contain the truth that makes men free. Man is a spiritual being, not a materialistic mechanism. Man is responsible to God beyond all other authorities. As such, man has inalienable rights to life, liberty and property, which rights no government can give and no government should take away. This is the true Social Gospel.

(The Rev. Irving E. Howard, an ordained Congregational minister, is a Freedoms Foundation award winner. He is now on the staff of Christian Economics, *in which this article first appeared. "What Did Jesus Believe About Wealth?" was first reprinted in the June 4, 1955, issue of HUMAN EVENTS and quickly became a best-seller. It was subsequently reprinted in the issue of December 22, 1958, and in* Dateline Washington: The Best of HUMAN EVENTS, 1955-61.)

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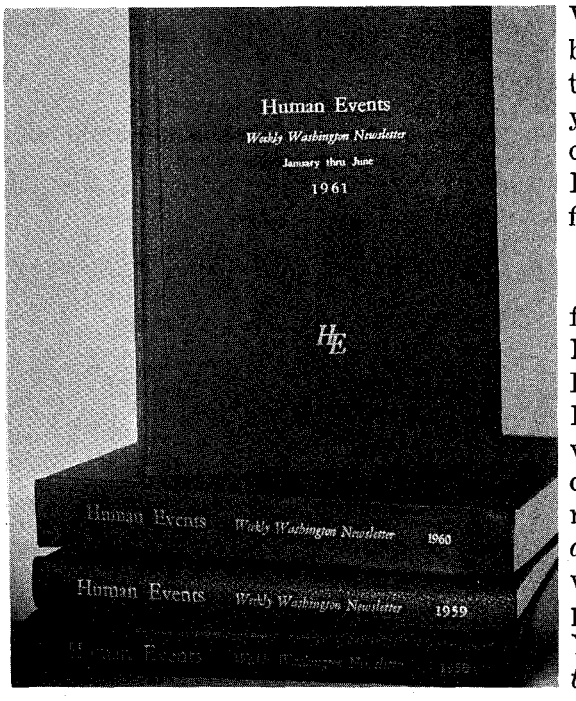

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Growing Labor Violence

By VICTOR RIESEL

MIAMI—I have been crisscrossing the US ever since I flew in from barbed-wired Berlin—and I've run across more shooting, more dynamiting, more arson, more skull fracturing than it would take to rip down the Eastern sector wall.

And much of the violence is on the labor front. The public is sick of it. For all of it is being unleashed by local hoods on local streets where the sound of ricocheting bullets or the acrid smoke of TNT sticks or the snort of shotguns can be heard or smelled "around the corner."

That's a major problem faced by the national labor leaders as they gathered over in Bal Harbour and attempted to work out a new public relations image. It will take all of Madison Avenue and all of those fashionable "think" factories to devise strategy which could even begin dimming the old image unless labor's national chiefs begin taking on the local hoods who run untouchable baronies across the land.

I am, for example, just down from Chicago. In one week, union men and company executives alike were beaten, shot at and shaken down. Witnesses before Federal grand juries have been either killed or peppered by bullets. And these were grand juries looking into local labor rackets or union collusion causing restraint of trade.

In one case, an engineer at a struck firm was beaten by five hoods, two of them pickets. His skull was fractured.

In another instance, a unionist opposing a faction in the tough Local 134, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was shot at while driving to his job at O'Hare Airport. It could have been the late, late show. This fellow, by name of Frank Panfil, a plant superintendent, was driving up a local street when two hoods in snap brims pulled up alongside, hit his car with six bullets as he hit the floorboard, and they drove off.

Local 134 has been given a thorough airing by the McClellan Committee but they're still doing business as usual at the old dues window. This crowd's so tough there's apparently very little the union's national leaders can do. And the image gets bloodier all the time.

There's a hood chief of a Hod Carriers local there. His name is Al Pilotto and he is the partner in one good-sized business of Frank LaPorte, a real syndicate chief. LaPorte runs horse parlors, bawdy houses, strip tease joints, juke box and pinball firms and an intercontinental gambling network. Can't blame the public. A man is known by the image he keeps.

Nor is the imagery limited to Chicago. One of Bob Kennedy's brightest young men has just investigated a large area outside Chicago. He took the information back to Washington with him. There it is now being analyzed. Soon he goes back to summon a grand jury. Out of this will come more grimness.

There is no sense repainting the same picture in a score of other communities, so I turn now to some of those local unions where there are no hood connections but the imagery gets just as rough.

There is, for example, the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Local 316 in St. Louis. The other week the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ordered it "to cease from restraining or coercing employes of National Gypsum Company by picketing in such a manner as to prevent entry and exit of persons, by shooting at or damaging automobiles of employes, by threatening employes and other persons with bodily harm, by recording and publishing license plate numbers of employes . . ."

People are the strangest persons. They feel uncomfortable when they're shot at. And the national officials of this union just will have to convince its local men to find some other way of convincing the working populace.

And so enormous is the task of re-imaging it reaches across AFL-CIO lines. Unfortunately for the national union chiefs, the public tends to lump all labor together. This means that the AFL-CIO locals who find themselves co-operating with local Teamsters across the land get lumped with them.

Thus all labor gets image-ized when the public hears that on November 23 the NLRB told Local 612 of the Teamsters, in Birmingham, to post the following notice in the union's business office and meeting place:

"We will not physically assult and threaten to kill employes of Long Lewis Hardware Company.

"We will not threaten employes . . . with bodily harm or damage to their houses; or their automobiles or other personal property.

"We will not block the ingress or egress . . . by displaying knives or other weapons . . ."

This image is not easily erased. It is indeed a problem for the nation's labor leaders. The public is disturbed. The people merely want peace in their cities. There's enough turbulence abroad.

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UAW Squeeze Play

From the Weekly Labor Forecast and Review

Labor-management negotiations in the auto-manufacturing industry are just about concluded. The signing of agreements between UAW and Chrysler Corporation leaves only the Studebaker Corporation where the UAW has not negotiated a new contract.

The UAW obtained good three-year contracts with American Motors, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler Corporation. Only on one demand did the UAW lose out and that was its demand for elimination of subcontracting of equipment and parts by auto companies.

Many, many companies are suppliers to the five auto-manufacturing companies. The UAW for years has attempted to force the Big Five to eliminate subcontracting of parts and equipment to outside companies.

The UAW wants all or most of parts and equipment manufacturing concentrated in plants owned and operated by the Big Five.

Although most auto supplier companies' employes are members of the UAW, the UAW hierarchy would rather have all the outside manufacturing of parts and equipment done by the manufacturing auto companies because it would entail far less work for UAW negotiators.

As it is now, UAW negotiators when they have concluded their negotiations with the Big Five must then, as contracts terminate, negotiate for new contracts with hundreds of smaller auto supplier firms. At the present time there are numerous UAW strikes against auto supplier companies, because the union wants these companies to accept the Big Five contract in *toto*, without allowing for different conditions in smaller companies.

Also, it could be this is a method the UAW is using, by causing delays in supplying of parts and holding up production, to get the Big Five to cancel these contracts and start their own manufacturing of parts and equipment.

Although this strategy, if successful, would cause thousands of UAW members employed by small firms to lose their jobs, evidently certain masterminds in the UAW feel this is the only method that will give production employes of the Big Five steady working time.

In its "25 Years Ago Today" editorial page feature, the Dallas *Morning News* recently recalled the following 1936 news item: "Homer Brooks, Communist candidate for Governor, was jailed for several hours in Beaumont and told to leave town."

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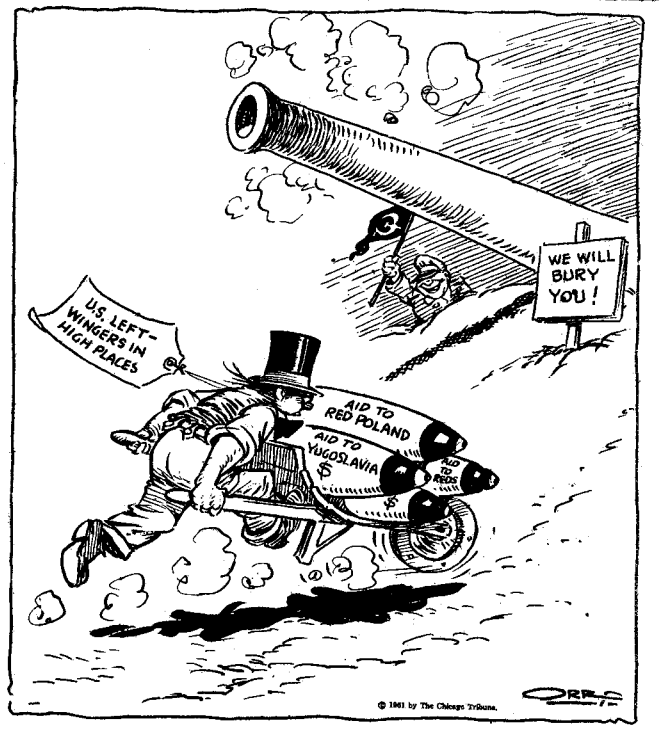
AMMUNITION FOR THE GUNS OF THE ENEMY



The 'Lunatic' Element

From the Grand Island [Nebr.] Daily Independent

A Texas professor speaking in Lincoln recently warned Nebraska educators about dangers to education in the nation-wide trend toward conservatism.

The speaker, Dr. Kenneth McIntyre, a former Nebraskan, told his listeners that "the lunatic element of the extreme right is more dangerous than the left because it is hiding behind such terms as Americanism."

Certainly no one could argue with that statement, for the "lunatic element" of any group is dangerous. But what is a lunatic, in the good professor's definition? From the tenor of his speech, it would seem a lunatic is:

- Anyone who believes that the individual community should shoulder the responsibility for educating its own children;
- Anyone who believes that Big Brother in Washington is not capable of spending money more wisely than those close to the individual problem;
- Anyone who believes that the benevolent Big Brother has plans for the birth of an ever-mushrooming bureaucracy which would put more Americans on the Federal dole;
- Anyone who believes that Federal aid to education also means Federal control of education;
- Anyone who thinks that the Washington bureaucrats might not return 100 cents on the dollar to the taxed community.

Maybe someone should warn our educators of the "lunatic element" on the other side of the fence.

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I want to tell you Socialists that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read them, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for 30 years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve. And I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy.

Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.

—Samuel Gompers, 1903.

Pioneer American Labor Leader

The Penalty of Welfarism

By HERBERT V. KOHLER
President of the Kohler Company

If every organization or community would go on strike against Federal aid for itself, the nation would soon be out of the worst mess that can be imagined both from an economic standpoint and from the standpoint of safeguarding our liberties and keeping our self-respect.

The very highest penalty we pay for welfarism cannot be computed in dollars. That penalty is the decay of self-reliance.

All Americans once knew, but many have now forgotten and must learn again, that it is impossible to be dependent and at the same time independent.

This country was not built by security-minded dependents . . . .

The way to preserve enterprise in this country is to practice it.

Dreamville

From the Washington Daily News

And if this doesn't leave you muttering to yourself:

A golf club in Blair, Nebraska, for years rented to farmers 14 acres of ground not needed for its fairways.

Last year club officials enlarged the course and took the 14 acres back.

"Then," reports Sen. Young (D.-Ohio), "most unexpectedly, the golf club received a government check for taking out of production land previously planted to corn. The amount was $288."

You say it.

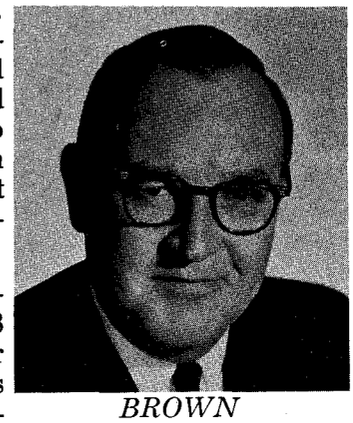
An Expensive Image

From the San Diego Union

We would be the last in the world to speak out against employment opportunities for newspapermen.

Perhaps egotistically, we believe they are unusually qualified for a number of jobs. One is that of a press agent, or, under the modern genteel definition, an image builder.

But Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown is carrying this a bit too far. He has 12 former newsmen on his staff. And the jobs they have would horrify any reporter who has tried to balance an expense account, plant a garden or drive in Sunday traffic.



BROWN

The state finance director, who makes $30,318 yearly, was a reporter three years ago. So was the secretary of the California Highway Commission and the director of the Department of Motor Vehicles.

An Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board member and the Natural Resources Agency administrator are ex-reporters.

It could be that the governor is trying to solve California's unemployment problem by giving newsmen $100,000 worth of jobs in Sacramento. But we doubt it.

Our guess is that he is using these skilled men at what they do best—image building.

He has three press secretaries—one more than former President Eisenhower had. His 12-man propaganda force outnumbers the total United States Information Agency personnel in Great Britain, West Berlin, Denmark, Austria and the Netherlands.

But perhaps we shouldn't be too critical. The governor's propaganda staff has a more difficult image to build.

Progress in Education

From the Omaha World-Herald

The director of the Reading Clinic at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee told a convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) that use of McGuffey's Readers could handicap children's learning because the vocabulary in McGuffey's is "too hard."

If the gentleman's opinion is well founded, it speaks volumes on the progress which has been achieved by progressive education.

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The Man the Teamsters Found Too Hot to Handle

By LESTER VELIE

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HUMAN EVENTS

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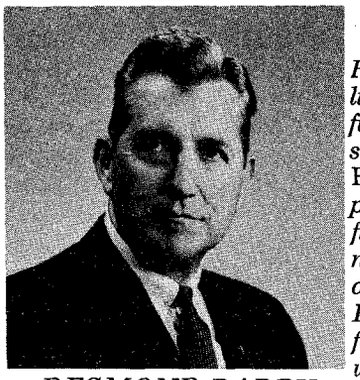

DESMOND BARRY

Desmond Barry, the Houston, Texas, truck line owner whose successful fight against the Teamsters is described in The Reader's Digest *article reprinted in this section, has filed for the Republican nomination for Texas' new at-large seat in Congress. Barry, now 54, is another former Texas Democrat who has joined the GOP.*

IT'S A WISE union that knows its own strength, and doesn't use it to bully. The Teamsters, mightiest in the land, are so strong that they don't have to recruit members the way other unions do, by signing up the worker who will pay the dues. They go to the employer. "Sign," they say, "and turn your people over to us, or else . . . "

If the employer resists this "top-down" organizing, he's in a curious trap. The Teamsters have no legitimate labor dispute with him, since they don't represent his employes. But he's treated as if a genuine strike were on. Other employers' drivers won't take his goods in or out of his plant; union truckers won't transship his freight.

This squeeze on employers to coerce their workers into unions, sometimes described as "economic blackmail," works wonders for the Teamsters. Last year, while other unions were losing members, they added 62,000 duespayers. Now the country's biggest union, they have 1,600,000 members.

It's a brave boss who dares say no when told to deliver his men to the Teamsters. At best, he faces years of struggle, while his business bleeds. At worst, he faces sudden business death. Yet men have dared to fight back —one of them to an unexpected victory that may bring historic results.

When the Teamsters threw a contract on the desk of Desmond A. Barry, Houston, Texas, trucker, in the spring of 1955, he asked, "Do you represent my drivers?"

"We don't deal with the drivers. Just sign," he was told.

Barry pondered. He was but a pebble in the way of the Teamster bulldozer. Nevertheless he said, "I think no."

Barry is a cheery six-footer of 51 who wears ten-gallon hats, greets strangers with "Howdy, cousin," and doesn't look the type to lead a crusade. The touch of Southern softness in his voice gives little hint of the driving energy within. Yet in Barry the Teamsters found a formidable adversary.

As an ex-lieutenant colonel in the Air Force, he wasn't one to take orders from those who had no right to give them. And it didn't take much to heat him up to fighting pitch. "I'll fight for a man's right to join a union," Barry said. "And I'll fight for my right not to force him in against his will."

When the Teamsters approached him, Barry brought one of his men out to the union hall to hear the union's proposition.

"What's he doing here?" the Teamster officials asked. "We represent the drivers. We don't talk to him. We talk to you."

Barry was asked to sign his men over to local 886 at Oklahoma City, 455 miles from Houston, where most of his drivers live. This local has been rocked by scandal, and is being investigated by a three-man committee from the parent union. Still, Barry told the local's officers, "If my men vote union in an NLRB election, I'll bargain in good faith."

The Teamsters did not ask for an election. They didn't picket Barry's company. Instead, word was passed to unionized truckers with whom Barry interships. "Barry's unfair," was the word. This made his cargo "too hot" to handle.

Barry's Interstate Commerce Commission license permits him to haul freight from the Houston and Galveston areas to Oklahoma City. There freight is transferred to other truckers. But at this transfer point, as elsewhere, the unionized truckers had promised the Teamsters not to handle the goods of an employer with whom the Teamsters were having "labor trouble." They had sealed the agreement with a "hot cargo" clause.

Under this famous clause, to be found in most Teamster agreements, a trucker can't fire an employe who won't handle the goods of another employer with whom the Teamsters say they're disputing. It has had the effect of giving legal sanction to an illegal secondary boycott.

"There's no labor dispute in my company," Barry protested as his goods piled up in Oklahoma City. "The Teamsters don't even represent my people.

"Sorry," the truckers replied. "The Teamsters say you're 'hot.' We'll be struck if we handle you."

It had taken 29 years to build Barry's Galveston Truck Lines, Inc., to a $600,000-a-year business on which 35 families depended. Barry shared one third of his profits with his employes, and this plus other bonuses for safe driving and equipment care boosted some drivers' pay to $10,000 yearly. Yet Barry's business was being destroyed in a battle in which he was technically an innocent bystander.

The more he thought about it, the madder he

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got. The "hot cargo" clause, he realized, was the real enemy. It enabled the Teamsters to inflict as much economic damage on him as if they had actually unionized his workers and called a strike.

But when Barry looked for a lawyer to help him fight back, he was told, "you can't lick the Teamsters." One lawyer said, "Put up $5,000, and in several years' time I may be able to get you a compromise."

So Barry took his problem to his family lawyer, a slight, intense man of 34 named James Saccomanno, who had never before handled a labor case. Barry and Saccomanno surveyed the battle terrain. If they made a defensive fight of it on the usual battlefields—the courts and the NLRB—the Teamsters and their 40-million-dollar treasury would wear them out. But if they could find a battlefield on which they could take the offensive, they might be able to spike the Teamsters' chief weapon, the "hot cargo" boycott.

The battlefield Barry chose was the Interstate Commerce Commission, which administers legislation concerning truck routes and rates. For ten days, while the boycott squeezed out more than half of Barry's business, he and Saccomanno poured over the 53-page Motor Carrier Act, which the ICC administers, and hundreds of additional pages of court decisions.

They found a simple, lifesaving message: all truckers who are licensed to haul freight between states are common carriers. Like the railroads, or the post office, they must accept, as a public obligation, all freight offered them. No agreements with unions can exempt truckers from this obligation.

To make the boycotting truckers toe this mark, Barry needed foolproof evidence that his cargo was being refused. Equipped with a camera and notebook, he rode with his drivers to the transfer point at Oklahoma City. There, at the loading docks, while bosses and men refused to touch his cargo, he took it all down, in words and pictures.

So armed, Barry made his first move to keep his gasping business alive. He asked the ICC for temporary permission to extend his route so that he could deliver his own freight beyond Oklahoma City. The permission was granted—for 15 days.

He then hastened to Washington, where he succeeded in telling his story to all 11 ICC commissioners, one by one, and came away with a 15-day extension of the permission. He also opened up his main battle-front by filing a complaint before the Commission to force the "hot cargo" truckers to serve him. In addition, he obtained an NLRB court move against the Teamsters, aimed at breaking the boycott.

Congressmen, senators and newspapermen listened to Barry, and stories of his one-man war against the Teamsters went out over the press-association wires to open up still another battlefront: that of public opinion.

The Teamsters had never stirred up this sort of hornet's nest before. What had started out as a routine pushing-around operation against a little trucker was turning into a Federal case—one that could result in the outlawing of the "hot cargo" clause. So, although Barry had yielded nothing, the Teamsters cried, "Uncle!" They notified truckers that he was no longer "unfair" and promised the NLRB to let Barry alone until they could show an NLRB certification for his employes.

Victory won, Barry refused to disengage. The "hot cargo" clause was still in being, a sword suspended over his and every other trucker's business. Barry pressed his case before the ICC.

Now, instead of the open boycott, Barry was harassed by a secret war. Mysteriously, customers dropped away. A paint manufacturer who stopped using Barry's trucks said, "The painters say you deliver lumpy paint. They can't work with it." A battery manufacturer said, "My home office has told me to stop using you. Our plant union said they'd make it tough if we didn't."

To this business attrition was added a war of nerves. Nightly, the phone would ring, and anonymous voices would ask whether Barry wanted his ears handed to him with pliers. His wife received threats of bombings. But Barry hung on. He took his case to "every club and trade association that would listen."

On the night before his ICC hearings opened at Oklahoma City in September 1956, vandals invaded Barry's truck yards, smashed headlights, windshields and rear-view mirrors, and ice-picked tires. At the hearings, Barry's lone lawyer, Jim Saccomanno, faced 31 opposition lawyers. Teamster huskies tried to stare Barry down as he testified; others glared at his wife.

The ICC supported Barry, ordering the truckers to shun boycotts on pain of losing their ICC licenses. "It is elementary," said the Commission in a unanimous decision, "that a common carrier may not bargain away its obligations and duties to the public."

The decision came down in the spring of 1957, two years after Barry had begun his fight. His business was floundering, but the national attention brought by his ICC victory gained him new customers, and his business has recovered. If the Supreme Court upholds the ICC in an expected review this winter,* "hot cargo" clauses will disappear from Teamster-trucker contracts, and the union will have lost its most potent pressure weapon.

Collective bargaining, as the Teamsters tried to practice it in the case of Desmond Barry, is collective bludgeoning. This club could be cut down to size if Congress were to clarify the vaguely worded Taft-Hartley ban against secondary boycotts to give the courts and the NLRB a clear-cut enforcement mandate. It would also help if all labor spoke out against "top-down" union organizing. The courage and energy of one employer who refused to regiment his men has focused attention on the problem and may have gone a long way toward solving it.

* The case is still pending before the Supreme Court.

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Vol. XVIII, No. 51—Section VII

HUMAN EVENTS

December 22, 1961

Tragedy in the Congo

The UN Wages Preventive War

Reprinted by Courtesy of Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly

IF IT GOES DOWN in history for nothing else—and at the moment such a prospect seems more likely than not—the United Nations in future may boast of at least one major achievement: it has placed its seal of approval, the stamp of global respectability, upon a strategy which free men have always found abhorrent. In the past the doctrine of preventive war, which was invoked by the Soviet Union to justify the invasion of Finland, as well as by apologists for Adolf Hitler, enjoyed credence only among tyrants. Civilized states shrank not only from launching an attack on their neighbors, but also from pretending the total wisdom, which alone could sanction their striking the first blow. Aggression, and those who pursued it, were widely condemned as a threat to the peace of the world.

In the organization known to its idolaters as the parliament of man, however, the old order evidently has yielded to the wave of the future. For the second time since mid-September, United Nations' forces, citing provocations which recall those of Der Fuehrer, have gone to war against independent Katanga. Thereby they have acted upon the mandate of the UN Security Council, and with the blessings of the US government, a spokesman of which last week described himself as "very pleased" with the way things are going. If Adlai Stevenson has not been misquoted, one can only conclude that he—and the whole State Department, for that matter—possesses a distorted sense of values.

For what has pleased him so much is a fresh armed assault upon the only pro-Western, pro-capitalist bastion in the Congo, a move which, despite all pious protests to the contrary, is found to advance the Communist cause in Africa. Still more incredible, the attack, launched in defiance of previous understandings, has been waged with a savagery which, according to eyewitnesses, has violated both the Geneva Convention and the sanctity of the Red Cross. Under a banner of so-called national unity, then, the UN has trampled on civil liberties and human rights. In the name of law and order, it has brought terror and destruction to Katanga. Some statesmen may find the prospect pleasing. Sooner or later, however, even they will learn that it cannot get away with murder.

KICK IN THE WRONG TEETH

Thus far, it must be said, the day of reckoning seems no closer than it did three months ago. Following the death of Dag Hammarskjold, the UN abandoned its bootless campaign against Katanga and signed a cease-fire agreement with the government of Moise Tshombe. The uneasy truce survived through late November, when the Security Council, having agreed to name the Burmese, U Thant, to the post of Acting Secretary General, again took up the question of the Congo. After some hot debate, Ambassador Stevenson, who yields so gracefully that it almost seems unkind to tax him with winning, bowed once more to the Soviets and their Afro-Asian fellow travelers. In a resolution which one correspondent at the time described as tantamount to "tearing up the cease-fire," the Security Council reaffirmed its previous intent to rid the Congo of mercenaries and to uphold "law and order and national integrity."

Like that of all UN resolutions, the language is high-minded, the sentiment lofty. Behind the

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rhetorical facade, however, lurk some remarkably ugly realities. To begin with, in a fresh demonstration of the double standard by which the global body operates, the directive was aimed solely at Katanga. Despite the halfhearted efforts of the US Ambassador, who approved the final version only "with great reluctance," it took no notice of the separatist regime at Stanleyville, which is run by Antoine Gizenga and his henchmen, and is supported by Moscow. Yet Gizenga's bands which showed their devotion to law and order not long ago by murdering 13 Italian fliers on UN service, have become far and away the greatest threat to the future of the Congo.

A SIMILAR CONTEMPT for what Marxists dismiss as "bourgeois morality" runs like a red thread through the UN operations, military and diplomatic alike, against Katanga. In the field, according to sworn statements by survivors, United Nations' troops, notably the Ghurkas (who as citizens of the kingdom of Nepal, in the pay of India, are actually UN mercenaries), have committed such atrocities as firing on missions, hospitals and Red Cross personnel. Their commanders have held Belgian and British citizens in prison camps for months without due process. Wellspring of the evil has been UN headquarters itself, which time and again has broken its solemn pledge. UN forces, it is worth recalling, were stationed in Katanga only on the clear understanding, disclosed in the summer of 1960 by Messrs. Hammarskjold and Tshombe, that they would interfere in no way with the local authorities. By striking the first blow in September, and again December 5, the UN thus was violating its own commitment, as well as the code by which law-abiding nations must live.

To all these misdeeds the United States, thanks largely to Messrs. Stevenson, Williams and Rusk, has become the willing accomplice. In no other way, so the faceless men at the State Department reportedly have said, can the Congo be kept self-sustaining and free. Here, it seems to us, is the most profound immorality. For such a position disregards all the evidence which suggests that the Congolese authorities, on whose behalf American Globemasters are ferrying troops, are riddled with Communist sympathizers. It presumes that the mineral wealth of Katanga, developed under capitalism, would continue to pour forth undiminished into the hands of socialist looters (if, indeed, mines, smelters and power stations survived a protracted test of arms). And on this score the recent history of Indonesia and Bolivia—not to mention that of the Congo itself, the unit of currency of which has lost over half its value since independence—provides scant comfort indeed.Worst of all, the US stand flagrantly disregards the wishes of the people of Katanga, who, to judge by the fight they are putting up, have scant inclination to entrust their lives and fortunes to an alien central government. Despite Communist dogma, the ends never justify the means. In Katanga both means and ends are wholly unworthy of free men.

What is happening in the Congo, then, is a betrayal, not merely of a pro-Western government, but also of the basic values upon which the Western world depends. Confronted by this tragic turn of events, Katanga's vociferous Premier for once was nearly speechless. Either Washington wants to make a concession to Moscow at Katanga's expense, ventured M. Tshombe, "or perhaps it is a simple case of Communists in the State Department." This magazine does not presume to judge. What it does know is that the country deserves a better explanation than it has received thus far for what columnist Arthur Krock December 8, aptly labelled a "bloody mess." Congress is scheduled to return next month. Surely one of its first tasks should be to find out why the US in the Congo and elsewhere, is pursuing so disastrous a course.

'Extremist' Tshombe

From the Chicago Tribune

President Tshombe of Katanga, whose country's independence is under attack by the United Nations army in the Congo, has given his views on the agency of the United States in this venture. Before departing from Paris for home, he noted that UN planes lent by the United States had bombed and killed Katangans and he charged that this was done for the purpose of giving pleasure to America's "Communist friends in the UN."

Mr. Tshombe asserted that the United States was clearly playing the Communists' game in the Congo by seeking to overthrow his government, the only element in the Congo which was implacably anti-Communist and pro-Western.

"The American government," he said, "would like to sacrifice the Katanga government to please the Soviets, who have sympathizers in the State Department."

While Mr. Tshombe was expressing himself in this fashion, Adlai Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the UN, was stating, "The United States is very pleased with the plans of the Secretary General to bring Katanga under control."

Mr. Tshombe's habit of giving loose expression to the belief that there are communist sympathizers in the State Department certainly marks him as one of those "right wing extremists" whose activities Mr. Kennedy has recently been bemoaning. Mr. Tshombe may recall that Alger Hiss and others like him came to roost in the State Department. Mr. Stevenson also might recall Mr. Hiss, for he once certified to his good reputation and character. This automatically excludes Mr. Stevenson from any suspicion of being a "right wing extremist."

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